The Commonweal

June 13, 1947

THE LIBRARY
ST. CHARLES SEMINARY
CARTHAGENA, OHIO

Sanctions Against Franco

Emmet John Hughes

A Negro Looks at the Church

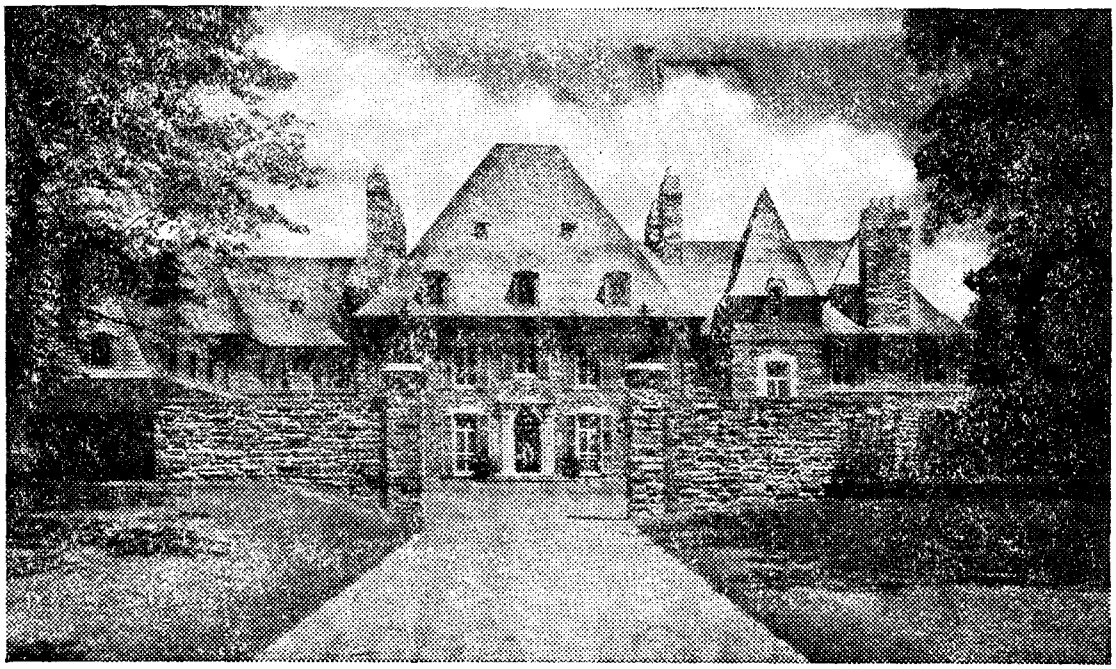
Alice Renard

Saint Benedict and Labor

W. Michael Ducey

VOLUME XLVI 15c NUMBER 9

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



STEVENSON, MD.—220-acre farm estate 10 miles from Baltimore. Main house of 30 rooms, 11 baths, fireproof construction of stone and steel. 5 other residential buildings totaling 31 rooms; garages, workshop, 3 barns. Swimming pool, bathhouse. $350,000. (Listing #41857.)

Fine Country Properties suitable for conversion to Institutional Use

ASHEVILLE, N. C.—2500-foot elevation. About 20 acres; 3 in level lawns. Granite and timber house of 30 to 40 rooms, with 23 possible bedrooms. Stable with large loft offers excellent additional possibilities for alteration. Cottage. Tennis court. $100,000. (Listing #41996.)

WILLIAMSPORT, MD. (6 miles from Hagerstown)—Handsome 5-acre estate in the best part of town. Stucco on tile house has 21 rooms, 3 baths, including 14 bedrooms. Finished basement; garage with 4 rooms above; stable. $35,000. (Listing #40795.)

MIDDLETOWN, N. J. (near Red Bank)—Modernized 100-year-old frame and brick Colonial of 20 rooms, 7 baths, and compact group of 17 modern estate and farm buildings, including 4 cottages, dormitory, mess hall and excellent 9-room superintendent's house. 4 garages, two of 12-car capacity each. 2 ponds. 80 acres. N.Y.C. 45 miles. $275,000. (Listing #41961.)

MANY ORGANIZATIONS, seeking to expand their institutional facilities or faced with the need for new building, find that the conversion of fine suburban or country estates is the ideal solution. Large, well-maintained mansions on beautifully landscaped grounds can be bought for a fraction of what they cost to build. Their ready-made facilities lend themselves admirably to the basic requirements of schools, sanitariums, rest homes and the like. Considered in terms of present reproduction costs, these properties are probably the greatest dollar-for-dollar value to be found in real estate today.

As the National Real Estate Clearing House, Previews is able to offer a wide selection of estates, both large and small. Excellent pictures and all the facts are available on the offerings described on this page, and a great many others in all sections of the country. Inquire at any Previews office, or of your own Realtor, who is authorized and equipped to show and sell these properties.

To Sell or Buy Fine Property Anywhere, Consult

PREVIEWS

INCORPORATED

The National Real Estate Clearing House

49 EAST 53rd STREET, NEW YORK 22, N. Y. • PLaza 8-2630

BOSTON • PHILADELPHIA • PALM BEACH • LOS ANGELES • SAN FRANCISCO

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The
COMMONWEAL

VOLUME XLVI June 13, 1947 NUMBER 9

THE WEEK 203
SANCTIONS AGAINST FRANCO
Emmet John Hughes 206
A NEGRO LOOKS AT THE CHURCH
Alice Renard 209
COMMUNICATIONS 212
Reply to Schuschnigg—Censorship in Japan
THE STAGE *Kappo Phelan* 216
THE SCREEN *Philip T. Hartung* 216
BOOKS OF THE WEEK 217
Inside U.S.A.—Leonardo da Vinci—China's Destiny—China's Destiny and Chinese Economic Theory—Leon Bloy—The Old Lady—The Land and Wildlife
THE INNER FORUM 221
New Light on Labor

THE COMMONWEAL *is indexed in the Reader's Guide, Catholic Periodical Index and Catholic Bookman. Founded by the Calvert Associates, Inc., in 1924 with Michael Williams as President and Editor.*

Published weekly and copyrighted 1947 in the U.S.A. by The Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. AShland 4-9685. Entered as second class matter February 9, 1934, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. U. S. and Canada $6 a year, Foreign $7. Single copies 15c.

EDWARD SKILLIN, JR., *Editor*
C. G. PAULDING, *Managing Editor*
JOHN BRODERICK, *Assistant Managing Editor*
HARRY LORIN BINSSE, *National Affairs*
Associate Editors
John C. Cort, Anne Fremantle, Gregory Smith
Kappo Phelan, *Theatre* Philip T. Hartung, *Cinema*

Corresponding Editor
Philip Burnham

Advertising Manager
John Brubaker

Communist Coup in Hungary

THE MOST startling thing about the Russian coup in Hungary is that the USSR deemed it necessary. American newspaper readers had long ago written off that former enemy country. Russian troops had remained in occupation; the key post of Minister of the Interior has been occupied by a Communist; the large parliamentary majority of the Small Holders party seemed without any real political strength. Perhaps the majority elected by the Hungarian people proved more stubborn than we had given it credit.

If such is the case, and, therefore, the coup represents any really deep-seated change in effective political power within Hungary, the United States may have hastened it by delay in ratifying the Hungarian peace treaty. One reason for this is no doubt the unfortunate tactic of linking all four treaties (with Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy and Rumania) for Senate ratification. Each of these defeated nations presents a different situation. Each treaty should be ratified or rejected on its respective merits, if with due regard for over-all American policy. And the importance of such an approach is underlined by the Italian treaty, whose ratification would through reparations, demilitarization, cession of strategic frontiers and the like place Italy at the mercy of the USSR and her Yugoslav satellite. If we had, however, ratified the Hungarian treaty early in the game, a withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary would have been called for, whether or not it would actually have taken place. Now with wholesale arrests, purges, warnings to the Church and other disquieting signs, it looks as if the Russian position in Hungary will be so consolidated that it will make little difference whether we ratify the treaty or not. Mr. Dinnyes, the veteran legislator, army sergeant and soccer star, appears appointed to stay—at least until another Russian protegé supplants him. But if this strategic move should result in American rejection of the Italian peace treaty, it would be a happy instance of the Kremlin's outsmarting itself.

Already a substantial loan to the de Gasperi government has been furthered by it. And the withholding of fifteen million dollars of Hungarian credits. What more can the United States do about this country in which the Russian Army is in possession? We can always indicate our unalterable opposition to the imposing of the will of one nation upon the people of another. That for the record. And we can make a sustained and serious effort to build up the polity of western Europe so that it will exercise an undeniable attraction for its neighbors to the East. A régime which relies on terror, despoiling of its neighbors and unashamed deceitfulness cannot go on forever. The American problem is calmly and firmly to hold the line, simultaneously building at home and in those foreign areas to which we have access a sound economy, stable political systems and a degree of human freedom corresponding to mankind's fundamental aspirations. In the long run the iron curtain cannot withstand that sort of pressure.

Economic Aid for Europe

WITH THE exception of the *Wall Street Journal,* the New York *Herald Tribune* has the most consistent money approach to politics of any newspaper in the United States. Politically, the two questions that seem to occur most readily to the *Tribune* are: what will this venture (any political venture; the Truman Doctrine, for example) cost? What effect will this venture have on that suffering fellow—the American taxpayer? This approach to world problems may not be particularly altruistic, but neither is it quite so base as non-subscribers to the *Tribune* have frequently made it out to be. The editorial writers and political columnists who work for the *Tribune* do not always have the answers to contemporary dilemmas, but their line of inquiry frequently

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

turns up some extremely interesting and relevant information.

At the moment, the *Tribune* is concerned—perhaps a little more than are most other newspapers—with the cost of that interlocking problem—the economic revival of Europe and the Truman Doctrine. The *Tribune* is for the Truman Doctrine; it does not favor calling off the dogs. But, judging by the amount of space they have recently been devoting to speculation on the subject, the proprietors of the *Tribune* would most earnestly like to know how the Truman Doctrine can accomplish its primary purpose of containing the restless Soviets without at the same time reducing the American taxpayer to a state of unfamiliar poverty and uncontrolled hysteria. What the *Tribune* is getting at is: how can the American money behind the Truman Doctrine be made to stick?

As a refresher on this point, Mr. Mark Sullivan, one of the *Tribune's* least frivolous writers, points out that the Truman Doctrine, if continued in its present sporadic-loan form, will cost the United States a cold $5,000,000,000 a year. It is almost unnecessary for Mr. Sullivan to state the conclusion that follows from that bit of information. Obviously, the United States cannot hand out that kind of money for very long—a thought which has probably occurred to the Soviets, as well. The thing to do, then, Mr. Sullivan says, is to build up Europe. He suggests that private and semi-private capital be encouraged to invest in Europe. As examples of the semi-private capital that he is thinking of, Mr. Sullivan cites the World Bank and the Export-Import Bank; as sources of entirely private capital—American industry.

Mr. Sullivan's suggestion, as far as it goes, is a good one; although, as he admits, it is unlikely that private capital will come out of the shade until European economy has taken on a more healthy glow. But American private capital, even in impressive, unexpected amounts, is not the economic answer to Europe. Neither private nor public American money, extended singly or in combination, will be enough to revive Europe and turn the Truman Doctrine into a paying affair. It is not enough to hope for a new rush of international trading confidence. The natural channels of European pre-war economy are worn out; they no longer lead to enough people. They were wearing out before the war. From now on, European economy—the natural resources, the available economic instruments—must be viewed as a single piece. If the American government does not realize the inevitability of this view and does not insist upon it, then all the private and public money injections that can be summoned will have been wasted, the scope of the Truman Doctrine will be limited, and the old European economy—spotty, uneven—will be recreated.

False Economy, Bad Politics

IT IS PERHAPS an easy enough mental journey from reports of high commodity prices and record farm income to the cutting down of agricultural appropriations. When a man has a single aim (to slash federal appropriations everywhere), as is the case with Representative Taber, there is nothing to it. And so the House by a wide margin cut the next fiscal year's agricultural appropriations by 28.7 percent.

To expect that the logic of the economizers would carry one step further and concentrate cuts in the areas where high prices have made government assistance superfluous was to expect too much. For the ax fell heaviest in the fields which once involved the Farm Security Administration—where Americans in the rural areas most needed public assistance, if not a new start in life. It is to the honor of the Democratic representatives that they fought hard to restore substantial appropriations for the school lunch program, for soil conservation and the Rural Electrification Administration. Unhappily the trend for months in Washington has been away from long range rural reform, from reinforcing the family farm and making rural areas a continuing source of economic stability—away from the program of the Farmers Union, instead in line with the Farm Bureau and the big farming interests which it represents in Washington. This House appropriations slash, which may be redressed in the Senate, is only the last of a series of steps in the wrong direction.

One aspect has remained virtually unnoticed. The new appropriations bill cuts out entirely any sums assigned for federal loans to veterans who want to establish, or re-establish, themselves on the land. And to rub it in, the bill cuts out all financial aid to veterans who have already acquired a farm and are in need of the assistance for the first two or three years of getting themselves established. The legislators who say, "Let them get bank loans," may be naïve, but there is no surer way of handing over these veterans' family farms to speculators and big acreage operators. And that is supposed to be good politics!

Unwilling Hosts?

SOME WEEKS ago we raised the question in these columns as to the advisability of formal international sports contests in a world where national passions still run high and which is so sharply divided. In fact, we proposed outright a moratorium on such events until better times. Of all the events that seemed most important to call off, first place still goes to the 1948 Olympic Games which are scheduled to be held in England in August, 1948. News now comes from overseas that the British are becoming less and less enthusiastic over that prospect. Much of the English

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

protest arises from existing pressure on present food supplies, housing facilities and fuel for transportation. But a new note was sounded in the May 31 London *Evening Standard,* which editorially demands that the games be called off on the grounds that all Olympic Games of recent times have been accompanied "by strife, wrath, quarrels and bad feelings. . . ."

The Trolley Car and the Conscript

THEY HAVE TAKEN off the Third Avenue trolley cars in New York and replaced them with new GM buses; now there are no more trolley cars anywhere in New York and it never will be possible again to ride the back platform of the open cars in the spring, in the summer, just for the ride. You drop a nickel in the slot when you get on the new buses and you will never see again the acrobat conductor swinging along the side of the open trolley car, collecting the fares, pulling the cord to ring them up. That is all Currier and Ives stuff now; it is up in the Museum of the City of New York with the model of the Central Park Indians selling Manhattan to Henry Hudson, or whoever it was; the model of the fire engine with the paired white horses galloping to a fire; the model of the clipper ships with the figurehead of the mermaid leaning out from the prow over South Street.

In the city it is like in the world; there was the nineteenth century and now there is the twentieth century; the nineteenth century lasted a few years into the twentieth, but after 1914 it was gone forever. 1914 was the date. Everything before 1914 is in a museum: Sisley, Pissaro, Manet, Renoir, the oarsmen on the Seine; Eakins, the oarsman on the Schuylkill, but all sorts of things also that are not pictures, that are not picturesque, that had a high and calm value and are lost.

The artists of course are the first to miss anything that gets lost whether in the life of a person or a civilization; there is a great literature of the remembrance of things past, and, before Proust, there was Rimbaud, remembering that one extraordinary instant of illumination, forever lost, in which he knew what the saints know, and before him there was that phrase about the supreme grief of remembered happiness. The artists know first what everyone has always known, the artists say it first, and when they have said it everyone knows it so clearly that he can say it also.

On May 29, 1947, the United States Government Printing Office published perhaps the most pathetically nostalgic book of the century: "A Program for National Security," the report of the President's Advisory Commission on Universal Training. It recommends, of course, universal military training.

Its 448 pages "represent the free, reasoned, and unanimous judgment of the members (9 distinguished members) based on nearly six months of intensive study." The members heard innumerable and competent witnesses; they studied the military systems of European nations—in Switzerland for instance:

> The horses of the cavalry are usually purchased by the federal government. They are trained in the remount station, then valued and delivered to the cavalrymen. On delivery, the man pays half of the animal's estimated price to the government. The horse remains with the man so long as he belongs to the Auszug. He feeds and cares for the horse in return for which he may use it in any way that does not injure it for military work. During military service the horse belongs to the government and cannot be sequestered. After 10 years service in the cavalry, a man's horse becomes his own property. A somewhat similar plan applies to motorcycles.

A singularly charming picture. But it is next to this one:

> It is entirely possible that the first day of attack would result in the crippling or destruction of a dozen of our largest cities, the elimination of our most essential production facilities, including those engaged in the manufacture of atomic explosives, and large-scale damage to utilities, railroads, ports, and communications of all kinds. . . . It [the attack] might involve atomic bombs, radioactive materials, biological warfare, and crop destroying chemicals. The atomic bomb would probably be used against cities in preference to military targets. We would have chaos, with communications disrupted, millions of persons sick, wounded and dying, civil disorder and sabotage.

At that moment it will not matter whether the cavalryman owns his horse or not. The report suggests that he will be busily engaged, if not dead, in duties that need no horse. He will be part of a machine. For "without cohesive machinery for restoring order, conditions of near anarchy and demoralization would prevail in the bomb-torn areas, [merely in the twelve largest cities]. The enemy's supporters would endeavor to capitalize on these to destroy the will of the people to fight." With New York gone, like Hiroshima, with Detroit and Chicago gone like Nagasaki, and with the beautiful cloud of death settling gracefully over the ruins of whatever other nine great cities you care to choose, it will take quite a few of the young products of the proposed universal military training to arouse, to create, a "will to fight" in the American people. Yes, indeed.

The report is a pathetic document, filled with nostalgia for the days when you could have an army and, at the same time and in good faith, the theory that it provided security. The lost, lost days of the trolley car.

C. G. PAULDING.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sanctions Against Franco

Emmet John Hughes

THE present editors of THE COMMONWEAL *have consistently opposed the régime of General Franco. But we have not favored intervention in Spain, for fear that that would set in train another devastating civil war. Emmet John Hughes, the author of this article, on the basis of his experiences in Spain during the war against the Axis, also advocates a policy designed to prevent the outbreak of another Spanish civil war. He believes, however, that the continuation of our present policy of "sermons without sanctions" will inevitably give the Communists their chance in Spain and make another internecine struggle the tragic lot of the Spanish people. In the following article* the argument for a limited but clear-cut intervention is presented very persuasively.*

THE EDITORS.

IF THE democracies of the West were to abdicate their present policy toward Spain, they could choose between several others. One policy, which could at least claim to be coherent, consistent, and intelligible (as our present policy cannot), would frankly confess that we renounce Spain as an issue of political warfare, that we will define our foreign policy without reference to ideological controversy, and that we are prepared to accept and deal with any *de facto régime* on earth. Cynical as this policy would be, it would be plainly superior to the present one. It would abandon the folly of stating ends, the means to achieve which we are unwilling to employ. It would remove the democracies from the less than honorable position they have assumed—the position of appearing to covet the cheap luxury of declaring noble political purposes without having the courage to assume obligations or to run risks in the achievement of those purposes. It would be a policy that the peoples of the world could understand.

It would also be, however, a policy that would shock and dismay most peoples of the world—and against which the conscience of the American people would rebel. Only its logic, but neither its morality nor its efficacy, would be superior to the present policy of delivering solemn, safe international sermons.

Sermons without sanctions is one thing. Sermons with sanctions can be something quite different. In the latter direction lies the only real hope for the Western democracies to develop a worthy and constructive policy toward Spain.

Such a policy would entail: an end to the fatuous banalities about not "interfering" in Spanish affairs; a categorical statement that overwhelming evidence convinces all democratic peoples that the Franco régime is not a decent neighbor in the society of nations; and support of that statement with action. Such action would entail some or all of the following measures. First, an ultimatum to Madrid from the Western democracies that their diplomatic relations will be severed by a specified date unless the Caudillo and Falange are supplanted by at least an interim régime promising to consult and respect the will of the Spanish people. Secondly, a supporting declaration of similar character by the greatest possible number of the nations of Latin America. Thirdly (if necessary), an ultimatum, either to precede shortly or to coincide with the diplomatic break, announcing economic sanctions to be imposed before a specified date. Fourth (if necessary) the imposition of sanctions.

With what speed would this course of action bring an end to the Falangist State? It is probable that the first two steps would suffice to bring results within the specified time limit. It is virtually certain that the third step—the threat of economic sanctions—would suffice. It is absolutely certain that the Spanish Government could not survive a period of economic sanctions for longer than three to four months.

With the launching of this prearranged line of attack, what succession of developments might be expected? Obviously, the reasonable hope would be that the political forces within Spain, especially the Army and secondarily the Church, without which the Franco régime could not stand, would realize, at last, that the men, the practices and the institutions of the Falangist State were liabilities with which they could no longer be identified, liabilities under mortal and inescapable fire, liabilities which must be liquidated from within to escape the serious consequences that so plainly threatened the nation from without.

I describe this as a "reasonable" hope. The reasons are important. Both the Spanish Army

*From "Report from Spain," by Emmet John Hughes, by permission of the publishers, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., Copyright, 1947, by Emmet John Hughes.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and the Spanish Church have always placed their own interests above the interests of any political régime with which they happened to be identified. Their interests antedate, and have no necessary dependence upon, the Falangist State—once they see plainly that the transient privileges which that State has bestowed on them can no longer be defended. Moreover, these are the elements in Spain most anxious to avoid another civil war. *If they are brought to know from the outset* the full extent to which the Western democracies are prepared to go in destroying the Franco régime, they will see from the outset the risk of civil disorder that lies ahead, should Franco and the Falange entrench themselves for a long siege. In this way, under the impact of determined foreign pressure, these groups' own fear of civil war, instead of encouraging them in their defense of the Falangist State (as it has in the past), could be converted into a force opening the way for change.

★

From the viewpoint of the democratic powers, the policy outlined plainly suffers from being purely negative in character. From this weakness, I can see no practical escape. There could be only two possible alternatives. One would be a positive recognition of the Giral group of Republican exiles: this would be utterly disastrous because of that group's uncertain following within Spain, because such an action would revive the most passionate hatreds and fears of the Civil War itself, and because it would effectively place the democratic nations in the rôle of dictating acceptance of a specific régime to the people of Spain. The other positive alternative is a purely theoretical one: the sponsorship by the democratic powers of a truly representative government of national coalition, established in exile and composed of members selected from the exiled leaders of the Spanish Republic, democratic leaders within Spain, liberal monarchists, and certain anti-Franco military leaders. Such an action by the democracies would have the advantage of allowing them to seize the political initiative, as distinct from the policy of adopting only negative measures and awaiting their consequences. But it would raise intricate, if not insoluble, controversies over the choice of representative leaders; and, as much as a recognition of the Giral régime, it would constitute a usurpation by foreign powers of the right of selection which can belong only to the Spanish people themselves.

While I do not believe that any informed democratic observer of Spain can doubt the need for the democratic powers to take a bold and constructive course of action to end the Franco régime, I also feel sure that no advocate of such action should (or needs to) ignore or conceal its risks and uncertainties. One such risk is the hardship that would be inflicted on the people of Spain, and even the chance of civil strife, if economic sanctions had to be applied and did not bring quick results. Another and very different kind of risk would come with too quick and too superficial results: the dismissal of Franco and the apparent dissolution of the Falange by conservative forces allied to the present régime, who would then fail to permit real political freedom in Spain by the perpetuation of their own privileges behind a new, if less repugnant, façade. And a third risk comes not from Spain but from communist pressure in all parts of the world—a pressure upon the Western democracies to refuse to accept any political evolution in Spain judged by communists to be insufficiently sweeping and hence "undemocratic."

But, in recognizing these dangers, we must at the same time realize that they are largely the consequences of the failure of the Western democracies themselves to take firm political action at an earlier time, at precious moments of psychological advantage which were allowed to pass. At least three such moments were missed: the time of the removal of German troops from the Pyrenees and their replacement by Allied forces in 1944; the weeks immediately following the surrender of nazi armies in Europe; and the month after the electoral victory of the Labor Party in England. On all three occasions, the spirit and stamina of the Falangist State plunged to the levels of fear and near despair, as the leaders of the State expected an imminent political offensive from the Western powers that would be relentless and irresistible. No such offensive came. Falangists and the most fanatically fascist followers of the Generalissimo recovered their political poise. In happy astonishment, they stared at clear political skies, clean of any suggestion of coming storm. And in the shining daylight of this delivery from fear, they mounted the political platforms of the nation to deliver their hastily drafted speeches about "evangelical democracy" and "organic democracy" and "Christian democracy." Because those moments of psychological advantage were lost by the Western democracies, the task of the democracies has become unquestionably more difficult and hazardous. But that fact makes it nonetheless necessary, nonetheless compelling.

★

Against the course of action which I have outlined, against any action designed to weaken, by deed rather than the word, the Franco régime, many arguments have been advanced. Some have been naïve, some hypocritical, some based on a rigid refusal to know the facts, and some which are serious and need at least brief mention and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

answer. I believe the four arguments that follow are the most important.

(1) The United Nations cannot take action against the Franco régime under the terms of its charter without evidence that it is a threat to world peace. Such evidence does not exist. And if the United States and the Western democracies take action independently, they betray lack of faith in the United Nations organization and impair its prestige.

It is perfectly true that only distortion of the facts can depict Franco Spain as a menace to international peace and that, therefore, the United Nations Charter cannot be literally cited in collective action against Spain. But it is not true that the Western democracies would weaken the structure of the United Nations by changing their own policies toward the Franco régime. The issue of Falangist Spain dates from years before the birth of the United Nations Organization and arises from the policy of the democracies toward Spain throughout those years. Only an anxiety to throw off the burden of making their own decision could induce the Western powers to insist that the United Nations accept and inherit the legacy of their mistakes. And only an incautious or irresponsible friend of the United Nations could insist that the young organization must accept such responsibilities to demonstrate its worth.

(2) No foreign power should "interfere" in the sovereign affairs of the Spanish nation.

This argument raises an essentially false issue by slurring two key words: "interference" and "sovereignty."

In a real sense, there is no possible way by which the United States can fail to "interfere in" (in the sense of influence directly) the domestic affairs of Spain. Our government's maintenance of customary diplomatic relations with the Franco régime cannot be considered a "neutral" position without political significance within Spain. It may well be our State Department's desire and intention to have its policy so considered—but the Falangist State itself will not permit it. Instead, Falangist propaganda systematically has exploited the fact of diplomatic recognition and every suggestion (true or false) of American accord with Spain, not as perfunctory diplomatic relations, but as effective American endorsement of the Falangist State.

The concept of "sovereignty," whether or not it is a dangerous and obsolete one, cannot possess clear political meaning in a country such as Spain today. When a considerable majority of the people of a nation deny the very legitimacy of their government, and would welcome its destruction, it is not unreasonable to question the authenticity of that government's claim to be the custodian and defender of the nation's "sovereignty." And, since the Franco régime rose to power by force of arms and with considerable foreign aid, its righteous citation of the principle of "sovereignty" conveys a suspiciously new and sudden reverence for legal rights which somehow fails to be utterly convincing.

(3) A policy of political and economic sanctions against Franco Spain will precipitate civil war in Spain.

Such a policy runs the risk of civil war. The present policy of the Western powers promises the eventual certainty of civil war. Between the two policies, choice should not be difficult.

And in measuring this risk, certain factors should be kept in mind. One is the fact, which I have already mentioned, that the most powerful groups around Franco are anxious, in their own interests, to escape civil strife; and once these groups understood the full scope of the action planned against the Franco régime, they themselves would be the most anxious to escape the full impact of that action in its most drastic form. Another pertinent consideration is the fact that it is Falangist propagandists who insist most loudly that the Western democracies must not dare take action against their State unless they wish to bring on another civil war. After several years of its reiteration, this argument sounds like the crudest and weakest kind of political blackmail.

(4) The fact that communist parties and "front-organizations" throughout the world advocate political and economic action against Spain is clear proof that such action would serve only communist purposes and ends.

To begin with, this contention (which seems to me the most infuriatingly specious of all these arguments), despite its superficial simplicity of logic, conceals two unproven presumptions. To deduce that a given course of action will serve communist ends merely because communists advocate it is to assume, first, that communist parties are seeking what they say they seek, and secondly, that they are correct in their own assumption that a certain course of action will achieve their ends.

★

I cannot subscribe to the increasingly popular belief that communists are possessed of an infallible insight enabling them to assess precisely the consequences of any given political action. And I fail to see why judgments determining American foreign policy should try to exploit vicariously this mythical insight by accepting and applying a communist criterion (in reverse) to determine our own national interests.

Moreover, I do not believe that either Soviet Russia or informed communists anywhere in the world are really anxious to see the Western democracies force the overthrow of the Franco régime. The ideal circumstances for the growth

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of communism in Spain are those that prevail at this moment. None more advantageous can be conceived for the simple reason that, under these circumstances, Spanish communists believe (with considerable reason) that they stand an excellent chance of effectively dominating all the forces of the Spanish Left. Why, then, should communist and Russian spokesmen all over the world publicly advocate action by the Western powers against Franco Spain? First, because they know (as does the whole world) that Washington and London are firmly opposed to such action and may even stiffen in their resistance to it under communist pressure advocating it. Secondly, because, without serious danger that the policy they advocate publicly would be adopted by Great Britain or the United States, communist leaders and Russian statesmen can publicly charge the Western powers with tolerating the vicious vestiges of fascism, and can arouse suspicion among all peoples that Western "democracy" is shallow, insincere, hypocritical, and ineffectual.

Finally, I believe that this argument betrays an acceptance of the dangerous, unscrupulous and irrational standard that what communists advocate is *per se* error, what they denounce is *per se* truth. While such a standard of judgment produces patent absurdities, it can effectively result only in a foreign policy which embraces and endorses all political forces which claim to be anti-communist. Statesmen who conceive of foreign policy today in these terms should never have permitted the hanging of Joachim von Ribbentrop, for he was their oracle. At least they should ponder the end to which he came.

★

Let us have no easy illusions. For no country, certainly not for a nation so complex as Spain, can any quick, vicarious political redemption be won. It is right and true to say that only the people of Spain can define and build their own political future. What we can do is help strike off the chains today preventing them from finding and following their own path. But theirs is the path to find and follow.

When no sure prediction can be made about the political fate of a single European country, let us say ten years from today, certainly none can be made for Spain. Spain is not going to develop a sound and virile democracy in a month or a year, no matter what action other powers of the world may take. Other powers may again, as they have in the past, destroy her immediate chances of developing such a democracy. But none can build that democracy for her.

The best evolution within Spain for which we can hope and work may appear to be a difficult and at times disappointingly inconclusive one. Today, the chancelleries of the Western democracies may meticulously draft a list of their ultimate desired objectives: utter abolition of every vestige of the Falange Party; end of the military rule of Franco's dictatorship; his disappearance from any public office; re-institution of a legitimate judicial procedure, with full amnesty for all political prisoners and complete abolition of the Franco régime's special punitive courts; institution of the rights of free press and free assembly; and provision for free elections upon which may be based a truly representative parliament. . . . But while we envision such goals, we would deceive only ourselves if we were to assume that they would all be achieved with brilliant speed. We, the people of the Western democracies, should be mentally prepared to view conditions that will certainly fall far short of perfection—just as our statesmen must be ready to deal on a peremptory *ad hoc* basis with unpredictable, changing political circumstances.

And even if all the specific political goals of which we might conceive today were suddenly realized by the Spanish people, these achievements in themselves would not guarantee a sturdy, enduring democratic society. This can only be the long labor of a people who have spent more than a decade under the dark night of civil strife and domestic tyranny . . . a labor which cannot be performed by well-wishing statesmen of foreign countries, which can only be the collective work of the teachers in new Spanish schools, of workers in free labor unions, of peasants on land that is their own.

Today, with the help and the faith of the democracies of the world, this great work can be begun. From the dirty huts along the Guadalquivir and the green pastures of Guipuzcoa, from beneath the Moorish arches of Cordova and out of the damp caves hidden in the Guadarrama, from the slums of Barcelona and the prisons of Madrid, across the crusted, sun-baked plains of Castile, there may soon come the men able and ready to build a free, good society.

A Negro Looks At the Church

ALICE RENARD

IN the semi-darkness of the church a hand grasped my shoulder and a voice said: "What are *you* doing here?" I looked up from the face of the statue into the face of a priest. "I was making a visit," I answered, "praying to the Sacred Heart." "You're not supposed to come here," the priest replied. "This is a *white* church. Why don't you people stay where you belong?"

I gathered up my books and hurried to the door, where I paused for a moment to look back. Had I, in my innocence, blundered into some

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

monastic cloister where no women might enter? No. This was a Catholic parish, a Catholic Church, a Catholic pastor. The Head of the Catholic Church was in the tabernacle. I had come here in response to His earnest invitation: "Come to me *all.*"

Frightened and confused, I stumbled down the steps to the street. I was trembling with the shock of a horrible discovery. *This was it*—the thing that I had heard adults talk about but had not dared to believe. Here was race discrimination in its most scandalous form, practiced by a priest in the House of God.

Several years have passed since that incident, but time has not lessened my feeling of uneasiness whenever I enter a church other than those ghetto churches which white Catholics have decreed to be the proper place for colored Catholics. Perhaps some of my white readers will say, as is often said of Negroes, that I am imagining what does not exist. They would not say this if they were Negroes for only one day of their lives.

I do not have to "imagine" race prejudice. I am challenged and intimidated, angered and humiliated by it a dozen times a day. I see it in men's eyes and hear it in their tone of voice. I get the drift of it from unfinished conversations between women. I have it thrown at me by the newspaper headlines. I have it slapped into my face by the hotels and restaurants, the theaters and the night clubs. Every school building that I pass is a monument to it. Most of the churches are its obedient servants. And please do not misunderstand me; I do not live in the South.

Race discrimination in thought, word and deed is so thoroughly written into the white man's code of behavior toward Negroes, and so much taken for granted, that most whites and even some Negroes are disturbed by those who want to have it eradicated, root and branch. Thus an unnatural division of the great human family has become second nature in the United States. Negroes who show resentment of it in their conduct are "uppish"; whites who demand its abolition are "radicals."

Because of this discrimination my entire life as an American citizen is lived in a labyrinthine maze of taboos, few of which are "laws" but all of which I must observe if I wish to "get along" with the white members of the community. If I master the secret of threading my way through this maze without bumping into anyone, I am said to be a "good nigger," because I "know my place." But learning "my place" is a lifelong process of nerve-wracking adjustment. For my place is never exactly the same in any two cities or states. What is proper in Wyoming is taboo in Utah. What I may do in Chicago, Illinois, I dare not do in Cairo, Illinois. Since I am a human being, I do not relish insults and humiliations. So to avoid suffering these at every turn I, like every other Negro, have had to develop a sixth sense—the ability to tell by the "feel" of a crowd, by the expression on men's faces, by their silences even, whether my presence and my conduct are offensive or not.

This endless torture of expanding and contracting on the rack of Jim Crowism does something to every Negro. It does to him on a grand scale what arbitrary pushing and pulling, bullying and nagging, ridicule and silent hostility do to some white children on a small scale. It either undermines his self-reliance and corrodes his human dignity, or it drives him to desperation, making him sullen, suspicious and anti-social.

But the Catholic Negro has an additional cross to bear, a cross that is peculiarly excruciating because it is fastened to his hands and feet by the nails of religion. Because of his beliefs there is no salvation for him outside of the Catholic Church. So he must stay in that Church and be tortured for life by the prejudices of its members and the snobbery of its institutions.

★

In the city where I live—it is not a Southern city—there are several priests in good standing who have made it quite clear that they do not wish Negroes to attend Mass in their churches. There are several other priests, more "tolerant," who segregate Negroes in special pews, as if they were dangerous criminals. In some of our churches Negroes have been deliberately passed over at the communion railing. Even in our cathedral, the chief religious edifice of our diocese, Negroes are not safe from insults and humiliations. I know several who have been ordered to get out by pious ladies of the "best families."

In the Catholic institutions of this diocese discrimination against Catholic Negroes is the rule. Our parochial schools, high schools and colleges seem to consider the Jim Crow "law" more binding than the law of Christ; by common consent of the clergy and religious orders Catholic Negro children are deemed unfit to associate with Catholic white children and must be quarantined like lepers in special and (of course) inferior school buildings. This diocese is proud of its seminaries and novitiates. They are indeed impressive. But the most impressive thing about them is never noticed, except by Negroes. It is this. Negroes know that vocations to the priesthood and the religious life cannot be a monopoly of the whites, for the Holy Ghost is not prejudiced against Negroes. But for some mysterious reason there have never been any Negroes in the novitiates and seminaries of our diocese. For the same mysterious reason no Negro has ever made a retreat in our "lily white" retreat houses for men and women.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Compare the racist version of Catholicism with the teaching of Saint Paul, who says over and over that in the Church there is neither Jew nor Gentile, Greek, Roman or Scythian, but only Christ, Who is all and in all.

I agree with our bishops and clergy that every Catholic should subscribe to at least one Catholic magazine and newspaper. In fact, I read several Catholic magazines. They sometimes carry fine articles condemning race prejudice. I read them and I wonder. I also make a point of reading the Encyclicals of the Popes. After reading one of them called "Summi Pontificatus" I wondered even more. For it says explicitly: "Those who enter the Church, whatever be their origin or their speech, must know that they have *equal rights* as children in the House of the Lord."

Do white Catholics read these articles and Encyclicals? What is their reaction to them? Do they have minds impervious to the teaching of Christ's Church? Are they insensible to the mental torment that is the lifelong lot of 13,000,000 Americans called Negroes? Are they too puffed up with pride of race to admit that sin is sin—even when its victim is a Negro? Or do they brush aside the Scriptures and the Encyclicals as if they were some form of rhetorical exercise—fine phrases, beautiful sentiments, but too "theoretical" to be applied in actual life?

Sometimes, too, I wonder about the sermons. When a priest preaches "Love thy neighbor as thyself"; when he becomes eloquent over the parable of the Good Samaritan, do his words come from his heart or merely from his lips? What goes on in his conscience when he, a disciple of Jesus, tells a Catholic mother whose family has lived in his parish for generations that her child may not enter the parish school because its complexion is just a shade too dark? How does he feel when he distributes Holy Communion, knowing all the while that a Catholic mother has been driven away from the sacraments because she cannot see how a priest can refuse to give her child a Catholic burial and still be a true priest? Is he not frightened by the words: "Whatsoever you do to these my least brethren you do also to me"?

As a Catholic, I am hurt and humiliated by the race snobbery of white Catholics, most of whom are recent immigrants in comparison with my family. Yet I do not hold these Catholic laymen altogether responsible for their prejudices. I know that whites acquire their prejudices in childhood from adults whom they trust and respect. Therefore I know that if race prejudice is strong in a Catholic parish or school, much of the blame falls on the priests and religious who are in charge. Their authority and prestige are such that they could do much to eradicate race prejudice if they wished to do it.

Would an usher rudely order Catholic Negroes to "sit in back or get out" if he knew that his pastor would reprimand him? Would the white members of a parish remain life-long race bigots if their priests were as assiduous in opposing race prejudice as they are in encouraging attendance at Mass? Imagine what we Negroes think when we see important city parishes entrusted to priests who are well known to us as race bigots! It is hardly edifying, to say the least, to open the diocesan Catholic newspaper and read that a certain pastor, notorious for his refusal to allow Negro baptisms, marriages and funerals in his church, has been rewarded by being made a Monsignor. Nor is it easy for us to understand how a religious infected with race bigotry can be allowed to abuse God-given authority by forcing race discrimination upon the entire faculty and student body of a Catholic institution.

This scandal of clerical race prejudice is responsible, more than anything else, for the deplorable fact that less than three percent of the American Negroes are Catholics. It requires supernatural folly (the folly of the Cross) to sign up for life in a Church whose clergy and institutions can practice race discrimination with impunity. Negro Catholics are taunted with this by Negro ministers and are then compelled, out of loyalty to the Church, to defend or at least excuse the very thing that they most object to in the Church, thus making themselves ridiculous in the eyes of the non-Catholic Negroes.

The Catholic Church should be the undisputed champion of interracial justice in this country. It should speak out clearly and firmly everywhere and there should be no connivance at prejudice or discrimination by priests, brothers or nuns. Yet we often find that these spokesmen of the Church remain silent or even add something encouraging to the conversation when their white parishioners, students or alumni express ideas more becoming to a Kleagle of the Ku Klux Klan than to a humble disciple of Jesus Christ. And what must Our Lord think of priests and nuns who act on the principle that it would be a great mistake to disagree with Mr. and Mrs. Bigot because the Bigots are one of the "best families" and have paid for the statue of the Little Flower?

★

In our large cities hundreds of thousands of Negroes are languishing in spiritual starvation on the very doorstep of the Church, repelled from the banquet of divine grace by the snobbery of Catholic laymen, embittered by the indifference or hostility of Catholic priests and religious. In our Negro ghettoes, it is true, a handful of priests and nuns are laboring with Christ-like zeal to counteract the great scandal of Catholic prejudice against the Negro. With profound gratitude

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Catholic Negro venerates these apostles of justice and charity, all the more so because he knows how exceptional they are. He loves them not only because of what they do but also because of what they suffer. For he knows that priests and nuns who completely identify themselves with the cause of the Negro and champion his right to equality of treatment in all Catholic institutions must often bear a peculiarly painful share of the Negro's cross.

I suspect that the average Catholic priest or religious has no first-hand knowledge whatever of the Negro ghettoes that are a challenge and a reproach to the Church in America. If he ever passes through them he does so hurriedly. Yet can anyone doubt that if Christ were walking this earth today he would be a familiar sight in these slums? And would He not denounce with burning anger those who profess to be shocked by what goes on in these hotbeds of disease, crime and delinquency yet approve of the enforced segregation that keeps the Negro ghetto in existence?

I suspect that behind this clerical aloofness there lies the fear that if the restrictive real estate covenants are abolished many Catholic Negroes will move into the "lily white" parishes and seek to attend the "lily white" schools. And behind this fear lies another fear, the fear that if Negroes move into these parishes some of the whites will move out. Perhaps this accounts for the "generosity" of some rich parishes in supporting Negro churches in the slums. Perhaps if this type of charity could be psychoanalyzed one might find that in many cases what passes for generosity is in reality a shrewd investment in race discrimination—a cheap way to keep the Negro happy "in his place," viz., in the slums.

This is not a Negro problem; it is a *white* problem, and the sooner the Church in America acts accordingly the better it will be for both the clergy and the laity. The problem is rooted in the brain of the white man. It springs from his crazy fears and unchristian prejudices. Hence, the solution is not to coddle those fears and prejudices, but to cure them with the strong medicine of Saint Paul and the Encyclicals. But that is precisely what is not being done.

There are dioceses, even in Northern states, in which no priest within the memory of man has ever preached a forthright sermon denouncing white racism and telling Catholics in no uncertain terms that unchristian discrimination in any form against Negroes or any other race by Catholic individuals and institutions is intolerable.

When a Catholic Negro prays the "Our Father," he is inclined to pause at the words "forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us." For him these words have a special significance. Under "those" he includes, in a spirit of Christian charity, all those white Catholics who wound or humiliate him by their unchristian attitudes and actions. And above all he includes those white priests and religious who seem to have forgotten what the doctrine of the Mystical Body means, or to the peril of their souls have stopped their ears to those words of Our Lord: "I was a stranger, and you took me not in. Since you did it not to these least ones, you did it not to me. Depart from me . . ."

"Forgive them for they know not what they do" is my daily prayer. But when I say it I am tormented by the thought that too many American Catholics do not wish to know what they are doing to the Negro, or if they know do not care.

Communications

REPLY TO SCHUSCHNIGG

Carlton, Ore.

TO the Editors: Since I have the utmost respect for Mr. Norman Thomas I am surprised by the inaccuracy of his reply to Dr. Schuschnigg. As a former Austrian I would like to point out some of his particularly erroneous statements. I can only assume that he was sold a bill of goods when he was in Austria and later by the Socialist refugees in this country. Anglo-Saxon Socialists were never able to evaluate the doctrinaire marxism of continental Socialists, among whom the Austrians were the most radical. In fact, they were so radical that there was no Communist party to speak of, the Socialists took the wind out of the Communist sails.

Mr. Thomas is quite right that Austria's hopes lay in a Danube federation, but he omits to mention that the Socialists were among the most violent opponents of such a federation. He praises the Socialist administration of Vienna. Yet, alone among the capitals of the defeated countries, Vienna never revived after the first world war but became provincial and inert. Granted that the dismemberment of Austria was one reason for the decline of Vienna, the other reason was the ruthless tax policy of the Socialists who themselves admitted that they tried to realize Socialism by taxing all wealth out of existence. No progressive person found fault with the ambitious building program of the Socialists, which did not take into account the impoverishment of the country, but everyone not a fanatical Marxist demanded that this program be financed in the normal manner—not by soaking not only the rich but everyone who had anything at all. Where all profits are taxed away there is no incentive for business. That is what the Socialists wanted.

Mr. Thomas accuses Schuschnigg of having neglected to tell his readers that "the strongest and most aggressive of these [private] armies was the Heimwehr." Doesn't Mr. Thomas know why? Originally the Heimwehr had been founded to defend Carinthia against the Jugoslavs. After this task had been completed the Heimwehr had been disbanded. Nevertheless, the Socialists, although at that time the strongest party in parliament and threatened by no one, formed their own military organization,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Schutzbund. For several years the Schutzbund ruled the streets unchallenged and terrorized non-Socialists whose meetings frequently were broken up. In self defense the Heimwehr was resuscitated. Its leader, Prince Starhemberg, later sacrificed his vast possessions to his anti-Nazi convictions. While some of Mr. Thomas's Austrian friends, as the present President, Dr. Renner, lived quietly and unmolested under the Nazis, Starhemberg fought in the French army.

Mr. Thomas criticizes the dependence of Austria on Italy. Nobody liked it, but on whom should Austria have relied since France and England took only a platonic interest in Austrian independence? He also objects to the methods by which Engelbert Dollfuss came to power. I wonder what Mr. Thomas would have done had he been in Dollfuss's shoes. When Dollfuss was Chancellor the parliament was virtually paralyzed because Socialists and Pan Germans in fraternal union would wreck Austrian democracy rather than cooperate with the strongest party, the *Christlich-Social*. The government, faced with the combined opposition of the other parties which, however, were too mutually antagonistic to form a government together, got by with precarious majorities. For nearly a year Dollfuss endeavored to govern democratically until, after Hitler had come to power in Germany, Austria needed a stable government to withstand the Nazi pressure. Dollfuss took the fateful step of governing by emergency decrees only reluctantly, but had he acted differently Austria would have fallen prey to Hitler five years earlier. Incidentally, the Socialist uprising did not take place in 1935, as Mr. Thomas repeatedly claims, but in 1934.

It is a sophism unworthy of Mr. Thomas to reject Schuschnigg's assertion that the Socialists continued to support the Anschluss after Hitler had come to power with the argument that they had repudiated Anschluss in 1933. Tactics not principle dictated this temporary renunciation which was caused by fear of Germany rather than by love of Austria. Naturally, the Socialists did not want to join a Germany where they would have been suppressed.

Their lack of patriotism has been abundantly proved by their actions from 1919 to 1934. Msgr. Seipel, Austria's greatest statesman of this century, who put the country back on its feet, had his work nearly wrecked by the unscrupulous agitation of Socialists and Pan Germans together, who did not want Austria healthy because they were afraid it might then forget the desire for Anschluss with Germany. Aroused by this agitation, a Socialist even tried to kill Seipel and succeeded in wounding him so badly that his health was permanently injured.

The left wing of the party under the leadership of the brilliant but pro-communist Otto Bauer held the whip-hand until 1934. At first these people hoped to install the dictatorship of the proletariat by ballots. Failing in this, they instituted, in 1927, an abortive revolt in the course of which policemen were burned alive. The failure of this revolt did not cause them to search their souls and to become a democratic opposition for which the patient government gave them every opportunity. Instead they continued to vilify Austria's past, minimize its present, preach class hatred, and denounce the Church. For this statement the files of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the principal Socialist organ, bear abundant proof. Why does Mr. Thomas gloss over all these events?

While Mr. Thomas is indignant about the alleged mistakes of the army in crushing the 1934 uprising, he does not mention that one of the principal leaders of the uprising was Kolloman Wallisch, a Socialist deputy who had been the right hand man of the Communist Bela Kun during the latter's 100-day terror régime in Hungary immediately following the first world war. The fact that men like Wallisch played a leading part in Austrian Socialism made it unique in its radicalism and compromise impossible.

After the failure of the 1934 uprising the radicals became discredited but, alas, by that time the cleavage had become too deep for a reconciliation. It took seven years of Hitlerism and war before Socialists and Catholics could again find common ground.

It serves no good purpose to probe old wounds. Yet, Socialist refugees who are out of step with today's Austrian Socialists unceasingly do so. It is regrettable that a man as high-minded as Mr. Thomas is taken in by them. If men like him had led Austrian Socialism the post-war history of Austria would have been very different.

A. E. BRETTAUER.

CENSORSHIP IN JAPAN

Tokyo, Japan

TO the Editors: In September of 1945, General MacArthur issued a press code for Japan, some points of which are as follows: (*Those of military nature*) 2. Nothing shall be printed which might, directly or by inference, disturb the public tranquillity. 3. There shall be no false or destructive criticism of the Allied Powers. 4. There shall be no destructive criticism of the Allied Forces of Occupation and nothing which might invite mistrust or resentment of those troops. 5. There shall be no mention or discussion of Allied troops' movements unless such movements have been officially released. (*Those of journalistic ethics*) 1. News must adhere strictly to the truth. 6. News stories must be factually written and completely devoid of editorial opinion. (*Also military*) 7. News stories shall not be colored to conform with any propaganda line. 8. Minor details of a news story must not be over-emphasized to stress or develop any propaganda line. 9. No news story shall be distorted by the omission of pertinent facts or details. 10. In the make-up of the newspaper no news story shall be given undue prominence for the purpose of establishing or developing any propaganda line.

It is, indeed, lamentable to me that THE COMMONWEAL published the article "Censorship in Japan" by Paul Vincent Miller (25 April, 1947). I have something more than an academic interest in the Catholic religion and have always assumed that THE COMMONWEAL attempts to get the truth.

Mr. Miller made false statements by inference and by actual assertions when he wrote:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> While one naturally will make allowances for the fact that our military caste frequently prefers to impose a veil of secrecy over operations, which, when disclosed, sometimes prove to have been quite inoffensive, one cannot avoid feeling uneasiness when a function so dangerous as censorship is wrapped in obscurity. Moreover, this uneasiness certainly is not allayed when the military authorities attempt to curtail the activities of American correspondents in Japan. One can find some justification in the exercise of censorship powers over a defeated nation which, at least theoretically, is still capable of disturbing the peace, but one finds it very hard to see how Americans, too, have deserved to be denied opportunity to hear the truth. Too much news is cut at the source so that the American public gets a bare trickle of information. There is hardly a day goes by in Japan when some important story does not come over the teletype machines with instructions from higher headquarters that it be canceled. Such was the story about the American general who stated that war with Russia could be expected not in a matter of years, months, or even weeks, but in a matter of days, and that the United States was making strong preparations in Japan for the event. Our militarists speak a strange language overseas which would quickly arouse the ire of the American people if it were not for the activities of the Army's Public Relations Office which tactfully prevents disturbing stories from reaching the public.

The fact is no one on General MacArthur's staff attempts to influence what the Allied correspondents send to their offices. No one on General MacArthur's staff can tell here in Japan what the correspondents send to their offices. We who are here do not know what they have written until American and English newspapers and magazines come back to Japan. I know of no Allied correspondent whose activities have been curtailed.

Equally false is his statement that a high-ranking policy-making officer sent any such statement as: "that extreme secrecy must be maintained concerning all censorship operations inasmuch as there are groups in Congress and among the American people who would be adverse to the censorship policy. Those people must not be given access to the facts."

I think it not too much to say that General MacArthur has inspired these strange and mysterious people to embrace a new national life and rededicate their national life along the highway of peace and democracy. He debouched armies over these islands without loss to Allied personnel. He disarmed millions of Japanese soldiers. He repatriated hundreds of thousands—more than a million—of Japanese from other lands. He has stamped out diseases. He is reforming the schools, the education system, the newspapers, the magazines, and other periodicals. He gave to this ancient land that knew no freedom—*freedom*. He gave to Japan woman suffrage. He separated Church from State, and gave to Japan freedom of religion. He encouraged the composition of a constitution that will take its place alongside of other great charters of the people. He stamped out militarism. He encouraged free elections of officials. He emancipated millions of farmers from slavery. He is reforming the Japanese police. He distributed wealth.

General MacArthur has maintained law and order. I doubt if these great accomplishments could have been attained without censorship. A people whose history over the centuries has been steeped in authoritarianism could not be expected to react as democrats immediately upon being relieved of their restrictions, nor could they be expected to create within less than two years' tutelage a responsible, objective press. The editor of the Anarchist League's *Shimbun* told me recently: "We anarchists are opposed to a democratic state for it is a state of law that gives the rich the same rights as the poor. We will do nothing at this time to disturb public tranquillity or advocate assassinations. We respect the press code at this time. When you are gone is when we will teach the Japanese public the advantages of anarchy." Is that the sort of situation Mr. Miller desires in Japan at this time? *Akahata,* the Communist Party's organ, opposes Christian dormitories for indigent Japanese. Recently, *Akahata* and the Japanese Communist Party attempted to drive out the management of a Christian dormitory for indigents and hold political meetings therein. How far would Mr. Miller allow *Akahata* to go in disturbing public tranquillity? Indeed, paragraph 2 of General MacArthur's press code protects a minority religion against the brutal, cynical ideology taught and preached by the communists. One must bear in mind that here in Japan, Christianity is a minority religion.

Mr. Miller objects to the fact that censorship cuts into "traditional Japanese dances," and that "hardly any consideration is shown for centuries-old mores and customs of the Japanese people." What are these centuries-old mores and customs that censorship cuts into? Examine a few of them: glorification of militarism; glorification of the ancient and honorable custom of farmers and others selling their daughters into prostitution; glorification of feudalism where it, feudalism, in turn sustains ultra-nationalism and militarism; Japanese are superior people and are destined to rule the world; and the Emperor is God.

Did we, in the defense of our nation against the cowardly attack at Pearl Harbor, shed our blood and our material substance that the Japanese should be encouraged to maintain in Japan their evil traditions that were the backbone of their wars of aggression? At no time has censorship cut into centuries-old mores and customs of the Japanese people where these mores and customs are harmless, but certainly censorship has exerted its right, under paragraph 7 of the press code, to kill militaristic propaganda.

What are our duties in Japan? Succinctly the objective—the great objective—of the military occupation by the Allied Powers is to assist in the creation in Japan of a truly responsible, trustworthy, democratic Japanese government. Is it any wonder that censorship objects to the glorification of those institutions that have made Japan a horrible example of what a nation should not be? I think we should make clear to all levels of the Japanese public the true facts of their defeat, their war guilt, the responsibility of the militarists for present and future Japanese suffering and privation.

One of the Japanese "centuries-old mores and customs" has been the mistreating of the Eta—the three to four million outcasts. These people, now to be considered on a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

parity with and comparable to all other Japanese, are being encouraged by Japanese Catholic priests to embrace Christianity. Yet, if I understand Mr. Miller, he objects to the fact that censorship cuts into and shows no consideration for "centuries-old mores and customs" of the Japanese people.

The Japanese Press today shows great improvement in its handling of news and in its social editorial columns. What would have happened without General MacArthur's press code and without censorship is any person's guess. Mr. Miller's guess is, perhaps, as good as mine. I guess that American soldiers would have paid with their lives and that there would not have been an orderly advancement of democratic processes in Japan. I thank God that General MacArthur established censorship.

The trouble with Mr. Miller is that he expected General MacArthur and his lieutenants to wave a conjuror's wand and produce a responsible, objective press in Japan in less than two years. He engaged in fantasy. The Japanese publishers, editors and reporters are just ordinary Japanese people. They can absorb so much and no more; they can change their habits gradually and not suddenly. These facts I write; I know, for of them I have been a part. I have practically lived with the Japanese publishers, editors, and reporters since I came to Japan in 1945.

General MacArthur has planted the seeds of democracy here. If we wisely continue to teach democratic processes, I think it not too much to believe that in the not too far distant future we will have created in Japan an oak forest of democracy. *Major* DANIEL C. IMBODEN.

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: Major Imboden's letter concerns itself largely with the *intentions* of the American command in Japan. It overlooks the fact that good intentions are quite common and do not guarantee successful results.

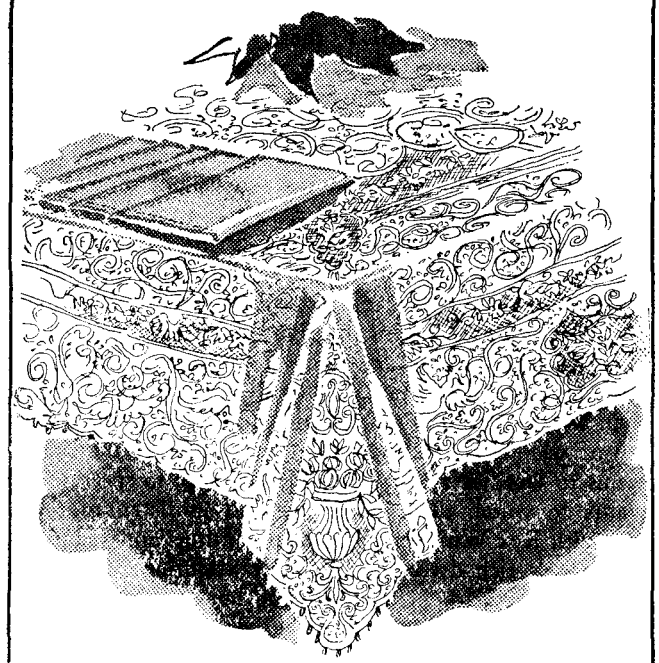
I quoted several instances of unreasonable censorship which can be verified in official army publications. He asserts, on the other hand, that "harmless" material never has been suppressed. I can only ask him to review again the examples I gave.

I observe, however, that he quotes the following from General MacArthur's Press Code for Japan: *Nothing shall be printed which might, directly or by inference, disturb the public tranquillity.* I suspect that under this ruling it might be deemed dangerous to broadcast to the Japanese warning of a typhoon on its way from the Philippines.

I granted in my article that the question of censorship was a difficult one and I went so far as to admit that a certain amount of it probably was necessary. Major Imboden, as is characteristic of military men, bristles too quickly at criticism. I am truly happy to learn that I have pointed out abuses which he did not know existed. I will be even more happy if he investigates more closely and takes steps to remedy the situation.

PAUL V. MILLER.

B. ALTMAN & CO.
FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK



FOR DINING ELEGANCE

QUAKER LACE TABLECLOTHS

Fine ecru cotton, with the beautiful patterns of handmade lace cloths superlatively reproduced by machine. Now the special dignity of lace for you who love it, at a price to suit your purse. "Punto in Aria" pattern shown, "Point de Florence" pattern also available.

72x90 in., 23.50 72x108 in., 30.00
72x126 in., 39.00

Bisso linen, hemstitched 17-in. napkins, made in Ireland, dozen, 9.75

Mail and phone (MU. 9-7000) orders filled . . . fourth floor

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Stage & Screen

Love For Love

UNQUESTIONABLY there will be weighty historical reasons why the world should appreciate John Gielgud's production of the Congreve comedy, but I cannot honestly estimate anyone's being consistently entertained by it. Nor even inconsistently so, to any great degree. The thing seems to me too coiled, intense, unenlivened, as it is played here. Perhaps it is the very virtue of the company which levels the business. The playing is on a high plane indeed, but it is all on one plane: everyone is precisely as graceful, quick, articulate as possible. I daresay this is a right definition for a revival of artificial comedy, and it is not only graceless but ignorant to hope for more. But still, Congreve built more than wit, he also built character, and here a kind of overlay of pace—probably effected for a modern audience—seems to sacrifice the size of the characters to speed. One wants to watch these people as well as listen to them, and with Rex Whistler's elegant mountings and Jeannetta Cochrane's rich dresses, this double attention is certainly accomplished with pleasure by the house. On the other hand, it is true that all is either delivered, or walked: there is no *business,* no opposition. It is only in its danced finale—devised certainly by the director-star—that the piece seemed to breathe at all, and that any hint of life or behavior entered the scene. Mr. Gielgud has seen fit to cut the interior songs and ballads, a vast mistake, I think. Also his choice of Eric Goldie to sing two interval numbers to fairly intellectual music is foolish. Mr. Goldie lacks charm. And for heaven's sake, why not Purcell for the airs? Or any early Thomas Anonymous having the gaiety of the times in his ears, rather than tediously reconstructed in his mind?

As the bookmen tell us, Congreve schemed his story of the prodigal Valentine, Angelica his Love, and all their respective giddy relations, especially for the actors' defection from Drury Lane in 1694. The play opened the actors' new theater at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields and ran and ran. Not the least of its attractions must have been its innovations in character. As D. Crane Taylor points out, it contains in Miss Prue, the "first full-length portrait of a country hoyden in English comedy"; in Ben, "the first complete and realistic portrayal of a sailor. . . ." Add to these Jeremy, the "gentleman's gentleman"; the ethically frail Mrs. Frail; the astrological Foresight; and the mincing Tattle—all speaking lines crammed with the arrestments of local wit—and you have a fairly good grasp of the doings at the Royale. The play is certainly there, and it is only fair to point out that its nowaday's production is a rare one. For the company, I will say it was Cyril Ritchard's exquisite Tattle; Adrianne Allen's mirthful Frail; and Jessie Evans's hurling Prue (a Joyce Redman reading) which pleased me the most. These, with the swan-like Angelica of Pamela Brown. Miss Brown has a distinction of stance and voice which is entirely sheer, and certainly worth a ticket to any of the professionally concerned, or the merely curious. Robert Flemyng's Ben is hampered by a frightful, frightful (I don't care how authentic it is, it is frightful) wife. And it is distressing to hear him leaning upon roars rather than any subtlety. Shouting is perhaps the easiest mannerism to an actor. Finally, concerning the star, it is just to say at once that Mr. Gielgud is an argument to me. Locked into the neat, severe nonsense of the recent Oscar Wilde, he seemed exactly excellent. Here, however, where a more generous, vital effort is required, I find the same failing which marked his Hamlet. He is not virile. He is cold, precise, nervous, thoughtful and daring, but all of his gestures are soft, and he is, somehow, always consciously acting. This is a ridiculous accusation to point at any professional. I had better take it back and admit that while I think it is possible to respect his consideration as "England's greatest actor," I cannot as yet agree with it. (*At the Royale.*)

Icetime of 1948

I HAVE, boringly enough, the same old quibble concerning this year's version of the Center Theater show. There is such an expanse of clear, shining, beautiful ice and nobody, nobody, ever, ever, skates. That enumerated, there are the usual Freddie Trenkler, the Bruises, and all the enormous production numbers, finagled to round music made as muzak as possible. It is necessary to add that the children love it. I mean all of them: from four to sixty, or however old children in this country get to be. (*At the Center Theatre.*)

KAPPO PHELAN.

Insanity and Other Violences

I AM NOT sure that the movies' current vogue for delving into psychiatry, insanity and allied subjects is exactly good for the layman. If a little learning really is a dangerous thing then most of these excursions into this fascinating but morbid theme must be viewed with apprehension; for as a rule such films, with their suggestions of a quick cure, are pretty superficial; and the moviegoer acquires a smattering that does more harm than good.

It must be said to the credit of *"Possessed,"* the latest entry in this field, that although the picture does not actually give the cause for its heroine's deranged condition, neither does it show recovery. At the finale, the doctor suggests that a cure may, after a long and difficult treatment, be possible. As a movie, "Possessed" is more like a case history or character sketch than a well-rounded film with a plot. At its beginning and end, the heroine is insane; and even in the first of the series of flashbacks (revealed by the patient when drugs take her out of a catatonic stupor) this woman is decidedly unstable. She can't face losing the man she loves, even though he resents her love which is smothering him and he cannot help falling out of love with her. From the time when she starts imagining things, and later during those dreadful days when she cannot distinguish her dreams from reality, the steps leading to her complete mental breakdown are portrayed in vivid cinema. Director Curtis Bernhardt

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

uses the camera and sound track exceedingly well to make us see the sights and hear the sounds which disturb this schizophrenic. During this latter part of the picture, Joan Crawford does some of the finest acting of her career. The Oscar she got for "Mildred Pierce" is really won by her now in this fine performance. The cast surrounding Miss Crawford, although necessarily placed in a secondary position by the demands of this story told entirely from the heroine's point of view, are also good, especially Van Heflin as the man who cannot return this woman's love, Raymond Massey as the one who marries her, and Geraldine Brooks, a promising newcomer who plays her step-daughter. Jerry Wald's production is excellent throughout. You may wonder about the value of this story and if it is worth doing so well, but you will admit that it has been made into interesting cinema.

There are several other current films that should be brought to your attention for reasons pro and con. *"Framed"* is a sordid melodrama that should appeal to moviegoers who have liked the films made from books by James Cain. This is not a Cain item, but it has that familiar, unpleasant story about a man and woman (Barry Sullivan and Janis Carter) who plan to rob a bank and lay the blame on a jobless engineer (Glenn Ford) whom they also intend to kill. Richard Wallace has directed all this wickedness with a deliberately slow build-up that makes for realism. Perhaps the absence of big names and glamor also adds a realistic note.

No one will accuse *"Ramrod"* of lacking glamor. It drools with stars, stunning western scenery and the kind of violence that suits rough-and-tumble cowboy movies. Its opening scenes are rather complicated for the "western" genre, but once it gets going, it gets going good, and Director Andre de Toth winds up with plenty of suspense. At times Veronica Lake seems a little silly; she is such an obvious *femme fatale*—and how the boys are taken in: Don DeFore, Preston Foster and even our stalwart dead-panned hero Joel McCrea.

"The Brasher Doubloon" stems from a novel by Raymond Chandler, but indicates that Philip Marlow, the hard-boiled, wise-cracking dick, has worn himself out in the movies. Chandler's formula is so apparent now that it fails to hold interest and the characters in this attempted thriller are pretty stock. George Montgomery and Nancy Guild don't help much in the leads either.

Just because James Mason is in *"The Patient Vanishes"* don't let yourself be lured to this English who-dun-it. It was made several years ago and proves nothing except that the English also make mediocre grade B films and that successful stars must hate to see their early pictures dragged out of cold (and I mean cold) storage.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Books of the Week

Inside U.S.A. John Gunther. Harper. $5.00.

AFTER TRYING to compress Europe, Asia and Latin America each into a single volume, it would seem comparatively easy for Mr. Gunther to handle the United States. He takes more time about it. The key to his technique seems to be to get the leading political, journalistic or other celebrity of every place he visits to show him round the local sights, talking all the while. What he has gathered in this pleasing fashion he has supplemented by reference to many magazine articles, the public press and certain of the superb guidebooks by which the Works Progress Administration charted the country. It was a mammoth job and there is no getting away from the convicition that in the main Mr. Gunther has done it well.

"Inside U.S.A." and its nine hundred pages is obviously a book to read for general surface impressions; for all its color and detail it is not the place to look for a detailed study of any state or any person. A wide latitude of opinion is allowable as to the correctness of the author's proportions. He begins his note-taking on the West Coast and when he has reached the Northeast he is forced by time and space to speed things up, to skim even more lightly over the surface. This is a distinct advantage for the Eastern reader, for the more leisurely pace of the earlier chapters make the volume that much more informative. Mr. Gunther's emphasis on the vast reaches of the West constitutes one of the volume's principal attractions.

Perhaps it is by concentrating on our country state by state that we can best appreciate the natural endowments and terrific possibilities which are still at hand. For my money, the prime example on the Pacific Coast is not California, but Washington. To substantiate this I might mention Mount Adams and Mount Rainier, the salmon of the Columbia River, the huge Bonneville and Grand

THE MUSICAL HIT **OKLAHOMA!**
Evenings at 8:30—$4.80, $3.60, $3.00, $2.40, $1.80, $1.20
Matinee Thursday at 2:30—$3.00, $2.40, $1.80, $1.20
Matinee Saturday at 2:30—$3.60, $3.00, $2.40, $1.80, $1.20
Air Conditioned ST. JAMES Theatre 44th Street West of Broadway. Matinees Thursday and Saturday.

"A very funny play, brilliantly written, acted and staged." —Robert Garland, Journal-American.
MAX GORDON Presents
BORN YESTERDAY
The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA. 45th St. E. of B'way. CH. 4-4256
Evgs. 8:40. Mats. Wed. and Sat.. 2:40

1947 CRITICS PRIZE PLAY
ALL MY SONS
a new play by ARTHUR MILLER — staged by ELIA KAZAN
with BETH MERRILL
ARTHUR KENNEDY — ED BEGLEY
CORONET Theatre 49th St. W. of B'way CI. 6-8870
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40

"TOPS IN TOON - SCOTCH AND SO-DA-LIGHTFUL." -Walter Winchell
CHERYL CRAWFORD presents A NEW MUSICAL
BRIGADOON
Book and Lyrics by ALAN JAY LERNER • Music by FREDERICK LOEWE
Dances by AGNES de MILLE • Staged by ROBERT LEWIS
Scenery by OLIVER SMITH • Costumes by DAVID FFOLKES
ZIEGFELD Thea. 6th Ave & 54th St. Evgs 8:30; Mats Thurs & Sat 2:30

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Coulee Dams, success of the state's public power policy, rural electrification, expansive fields of wheat, the sheep and cattle, the towering Douglas fir and other forests, the city of Seattle, etc., etc. And yet despite its wealth, productiveness, progressiveness, and potentialities, the state of Washington is only the nineteenth in size and the thirtieth in population.

For all the violence of its history, the wasting of many of its best resources by short-sighted individualists and the stranglehold of certain "barons" on large chunks of its natural wealth, the state of Washington exercises a greater attraction than, say, the fabulous Commonwealth of Pennsylvania—a vigorous empire of steel and coal and finished products well balanced by rich agricultural hinterlands. Or the imposing agricultural-manufacturing state of Illinois. Materially, whatever direction we turn there are sizable untapped potentialities. That also goes for the South, to which Mr. Gunther devotes his most troubled pages. (His presentation of the Negro problem is particularly competent). The TVA demonstrates what can be done in this section of our land to exploit for the benefit of all the people a whole river valley which had long since been believed to have reached maximum development. But the big opportunity still seems to lie in the spacious American West—if its further development is clearly in the public interest. Whatta country!

EDWARD SKILLIN, JR.

Leonardo da Vinci. Sigmund Freud. Random. $2.50.

FREUD'S "study in psychosexuality" is his most famous single analysis. It is a model not only of historical research and sympathetic sleuthing, but of superb writing and of the true humility which is the surest proof of scientific genius. Nowhere else in all his writings does he so abdicate before the mystery of individual identity. Speaking of the sexual repression which caused Leonardo da Vinci to sublimate his libido into a thirst for knowledge, Freud says "the repression, however, which followed the first erotic gratification of childhood did not have to take place; in another individual it would perhaps not have taken place . . . we must recognize here a degree of freedom which can no longer be solved psychoanalytically." And a few sentences later he declares "the impulses and their transformations are the last things psychoanalysis can discern." These are tremendously important admissions, as is Freud's conclusion, that "we all still show too little respect for nature, which, in Leonardo's deep words recalling Hamlet's speech 'is full of infinite reasons which never appeared in experience.' Every one of us human beings corresponds to one of the infinite experiments in which these 'reasons of nature' force themselves into experience."

Freud links Leonardo's illegitimate birth, his washerwoman mother's tenderness, and his adoption by his father's nobly born wife when she proved sterile, with the painter's left-handedness, his curious attachment to the vulture as a symbol (Leonardo's own account of his childhood memory of the vulture coming down to him while he was still in the cradle and opening his mouth with its tail is most extraordinary, and stranger in itself than any of the conclusions Freud draws from it) and with Leonardo's slowness, his inability to finish his pictures, and finally with his transmutation of passion into inquisitiveness.

Freud's infinite delicacy and almost angelic fearfulness of perception is in contrast with Dr. Brill's china-shop bullishness of statement. Dr. Brill provides an explosive introduction. When was it, according to the Christian ethic, "a sin to indulge in legitimate sex?" The Church, which blesses the marriage-bed can hardly be said to "suppress sex systematically." And why *should* the science of medicine, "which progressively developed new methods of medical and surgical treatment even for venereal diseases," not "keep discreetly silent about the *normal* manifestations of sex" as about any other form of health? It is the sick surely, who need a physician, as the Gospel also told us. Random House are to be warmly congratulated for re-issuing Freud's great essay, and in such an acceptable edition, with its lovely print and lovelier illustrations.

ANNE FREMANTLE.

China's Destiny. Chiang Kai-shek. Macmillan. $2.75. *China's Destiny and Chinese Economic Theory. Chiang Kai-shek. Roy.* $3.50.

THE AUTHORIZED version of this work is edited by Dr. Wang Chung-hui, with an introduction by Lin Yutang. The Roy edition, prepared by two anonymous Chinese scholars, includes Chiang's "Chinese Economic Theory" together with an introduction, footnotes and a long commentary by Mr. Philip Jaffe.

Since both of these translations were presumably made independently of one another, it is unfortunate that the average reader who is ignorant of Chinese finds it impossible to determine which is more faithful to the original text. Nevertheless, an attempt to compare the two versions may prove interesting, and for this purpose parallel passages are quoted in the following paragraphs:

1. The sum-total of these different customs constitute Chinese national culture, and the sum-total of these different modes of living make up Chinese national life." (Authorized Ed., p. 8)

"Yet the customs of each clan were unified to form China's national culture, and the combination of the ways of life in each locality made possible the existence of the Chinese nation." Roy Ed., p. 35)

2. "For instance, it is generally held that the Mongols are offsprings of the Hsiunhnus. But according to Shih Chi (Historical Records) and Han Shu (Book of the Han Dynasty) their ancestry can be traced back even to the Hsia Hou family, the ruling house of the Hsia Dynasty." (Auth. Ed., p. 12)

"For example, the Mongols are the descendants of the Hsiung Nu, and according to the Shih Chi and the Han Shu, the rulers of Hsia were their distant begetters." (Roy Ed., p. 39)

3. "Although I have my own settled convictions regarding our country, our people, our revolution and reconstruction, I have no prejudice against any other ideology or organization." (Auth. Ed., p. 253)

"My opinions regarding the state, the nation, and revolutionary reconstruction are fixed and unalterable. But I have no definite opinion regarding any theory or organization." (Roy Ed., p. 224)

An almost casual examination of corresponding passages in each version indicates the existence of distinct shades of meaning, of inconsistencies and even of downright contradictions, so that the reader may well suspect that he is confronted not with two different translations of one book, but rather with two distinct books. To choose between them may be difficult but there does remain one consideration worth the attention of any pros-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pective purchaser. The Macmillan version has been authorized, therefore a critic who quotes it uses a source for which Chinese Nationalists are responsible. On the other hand, Chiang Kai-shek's followers have attacked the Roy edition as a work of literary piracy and they are obviously under no obligation to recognize the authority of its text.

Judgments on the merit of Chiang's work tend to be no more objective than opinions about his political achievements. "China's Destiny" does create the impression of having a certain nobility and sincerity of expression which is marred by some inconsistencies in thought. The author may be opposed to totalitarian doctrines and practices, but, by his organic analogy, he conceives of the nation as a living body whose soul is found in the Three Principles of Sun Yat-Sen and whose life's blood is the Kuomintang Party. From this he very logically identifies the fate of China with the fortunes of his own party. Besides this, in the revised edition of 1944, the author added an important section maintaining the theory of the ethnic or racial unity of the people (or peoples) of China. This theory may very well have some scientific justification, but as it stands today in both English editions, it is inconsistent with unrevised parts of this introductory chapter, and even Chiang's sympathizers may find it unfortunate that he selected a racial theory upon which to build national unity.

But the Roy edition does have recourse to strange methods. To begin with, nowhere does Chiang Kai-shek claim that the Chinese are a pure race. And he does repudiate all theories of racial and cultural superiority. Accordingly, even Mr. Jaffe, who is certainly scornful enough of Chiang's racial ideas, is careful to distinguish between them and those of Hitler. But when the reader turns to the publisher's cover jacket, invariably the most prominent part of books published today, what does he read? Here are its words: "In it we find Chiang Kai-shek's version of the 'leader' principle and the theory of 'racial' supremacy. Here we learn of his deep conviction of the superiority of all things Chinese; his scorn of Western political concepts. . . ." Who is responsible for this caricature? If Mr. Jaffe did not write it, does it have his approval? At any rate, it was repeated in a large two-page advertisement appearing in the February issue of *Amerasia,* and since this periodical is edited by Mr. Jaffe, the reader may draw his own conclusions.

The other work included in the Roy edition is entitled "Chinese Economic Theory." It is a most interesting little booklet which had previously been printed only for private circulation. Traditionalist in spirit, it seeks to establish economic theory upon the rational nature of man, and it develops the thesis that, at least in China, culture, the people's livelihood and national defense cannot be separated. Chiang defines culture as a "way of living in accordance with the laws of nature and society" and thus refuses to restrict its meaning to literature and the fine arts. Without the people's livelihood there can be no culture, and it is the duty of the government to provide for both livelihood and national defense. To this, Mr. Jaffe objects against the book's unscientific terminology, against its identification of culture with the people's livelihood, which in turn is identified with national defense—a concept which undoubtedly pleases the military mind (p. 248). Since Chiang Kai-shek does nothing of the sort, since the footnote contributes the text, this criticism has no meaning.

On pages 259-263, the author summarizes Western economic theory for the purpose of comparison and contrast to that of China. Mention is made of such authors as Smith, Ricardo, Marshall, List and Marx, whose theories for the most part are concerned with questions of value and take their point of origin from human wants. But in more recent years there has been a shift in emphasis, thanks to the work of such students as Spann, Veblen, Lester Ward and Hobson, and Chiang comes to the following conclusion, which I consider worth quoting in full.

> From the foregoing analysis, it is clear that the most recent trend in Western economic theory is to seek an understanding of human nature over and above mere human wants, and an understanding of social organization over and above private individuals. The scope of economics has thus risen above the value theory and the objectives of economics have similarly transcended profit-seeking. I am confident that the present World War will strengthen this trend, and that after the war, Western economics will abandon their selfish individualism and materialism and, starting from human nature and aiming at the people's livelihood, will strive to attain the same goal as that prescribed in the economic theories of ancient China.

The issue of communism is handled by Mr. Jaffe in a curious manner. He maintains that the Soviet Union had no thought of trying to "communize" China. This is true because prominent communists have said so. Passages quoted from Mikhail Borodin and Mao Tse-tung demonstrate that the communists in China support the development of capitalism because in that poverty-stricken land the ideal of a prosperous industrial China must be shared by all communists and capitalists alike. Therefore, honest students recognize that in China today communism is not an issue.

Now these quoted statements do contain some truths the significance of which seems to have escaped Mr. Jaffe. In a striking manner, they do illustrate the views of certain continental sociologists including A. Fantani and Tristan d'Athayde, who claim that communism is nothing but integral capitalism, since both accept the same fundamental tenets and the former merely completes the mechanization of life begun by the latter.

Whether Chiang Kai-shek is a great patriot or a ruthless military adventurer is irrelevant for the purpose of this review. The evidence indicates that the Roy edition was issued for the purpose of smearing the Kuomintang Party, and to do so, Mr. Jaffe is willing to make use of half-truths, misrepresentation and verbal confusion.

THEODORE M. AVERY, JR.

Léon Bloy, A Study In Impatience. Albert Beguin. Sheed. $2.75.

ALBERT BEGUIN offers a condensation of Léon Bloy's fulminations against the humanitarians and sham moralists who try to abolish suffering, instead of seeing the mystery it reveals. In himself and in all who suffer, the poor, the Jews, the French, Bloy always seeks the hidden presence of God. For him, human suffering is part of the agony of Christ, the price of the Redemption and the condition of its fulfilment in the course of time. And he finds himself *in fellowship of impatience* with the damned of this world whose only hope is in the Second Coming, the advent of the Holy Spirit, which will put an end to the agony of Christ and their suffering. With them, he rebels against the resignation of the rich, who have forgotten that money is the blood of the sacrifice

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ST. THOMAS MILITARY ACADEMY

A Catholic Preparatory School for Boys. Classified by War Dept. as an "essentially military" school. R.O.T.C. Highest War Department designation. Fully accredited. Well-rounded sports program. Conducted by priests of the Archdiocese of St. Paul assisted by lay faculty. Military instruction by U. S. Army officers. Catalog.

Address Very Rev. Vincent J. Flynn, President, Box 8.

St. Thomas Military Academy, St. Paul 1, Minn.

PORTSMOUTH PRIORY

Portsmouth, Rhode Island, announces its

SUMMER SCHOOL • JUNE 26 TO AUG. 21

Regular and review classes in academic high school subjects: English, Languages, History, Mathematics, and Sciences. Introductory course in Philosophy.

SUMMER CAMP • JUNE 26 TO AUG. 21

For boys ages ten to seventeen. Full facilities for land and water sports including sailing. 225 acres on inland waters of Narragansett Bay. Conducted by Benedictine Monks assisted by lay masters.

For descriptive brochure apply to The Secretary

CAMP NEWMAN for BOYS

Conducted by Catholic Laymen

A long established, exclusive Summer Camp in Center Harbor, New Hampshire in the White Mountains. Over three hundred acres on beautiful Squam Lake. Complete facilities: Swimming, Boating, Riding, Crafts. All sports under expert supervision Resident Chaplain. Instruction by the Newman Faculty if required.

A strictly limited number of camp enrollments (boys 8 to 16 years) will be accepted for the 1947 season, JULY 1 TO AUGUST 26

For Information Consult THE ASSISTANT HEADMASTER

Newman Preparatory School
THE BRUNSWICK
205 Clarendon Street, Boston 16, Mass.
TELEPHONES: KENMORE 1202—COMMONWEALTH 1817

ANNHURST COLLEGE

R. F. D. 2, Putnam, Connecticut

Accredited College, Conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Ghost

Liberal Arts, Music, Natural and Social Sciences, Pre-Medical, Teacher Training, Preparation for Social Service, Secretarial, Address: THE DEAN.

NOTRE DAME COLLEGE

Staten Island, New York

A distinctive country day college for young women. Full state and regional accreditation. Liberal arts, pre-med, teacher-training, business administration. Registration by appointment.

poured out by the poor man, Jesus Christ, to pay for all men; against the Jews, who were the first to separate money from the poor man, to worship the symbol because they would not recognize the reality of their Messiah; against those who despise the Jews who are doing penance for the world and whose final conversion must precede the Second Coming; against the French who have not been faithful to their Christian tradition, and ignored the warnings of Our Lady of Salette; and against the enemies of France, the eldest daughter of the Church, whose vicissitudes show how near she is to God, with the poor and the Jews.

But perhaps the best summing up of Bloy's thought is in the last sentence of *La Femme Pauvre,* his masterpiece: "There is only one sadness, the sadness of not being saints." And one wonders whether it is necessary for Albert Beguin to recapitulate. Bloy believed that he had detected the mystery of the modern world in the light of Revelation. What would be interesting, then, is a comparison of his ideas with traditional Christian theology. And this, only because the author is concerned with the present significance of Bloy's teachings, and the realization of his prophecies in "our catastrophe."

In any case, the reader should not be discouraged by this muddy English sampling of Léon Bloy's flamboyant prose. As an extraordinary Christian, Léon Bloy is well worth knowing, and he is conspicuous in his works. No introduction is needed. To use his own words, "Consult love, and if you don't understand, go to the devil."

NANCY LENKEITH.

The Old Lady. Anne Green. Harper. $2.75.

THE "OLD LADY" had come from France to America to visit her widowed daughter. War surprised her here and she felt miserable until she became interested in a waif, a young girl, whom she takes back with her to Paris when the war is over.

But France of after the war is not the France the "Old Lady" knew. Nevertheless, with the well known French resilience, she manages to adapt herself to new ways of living and new attitudes toward life. The young American girl adapts herself too, because having known misery of body and soul before she met the "Old Lady," she can readily understand the French of today. And the story ends as romantically as any fifteen-year-old reader might wish it.

The book is uneven; the part about America unconvincing. But in some of the pages dealing with present-day France Anne Green has put there much love and understanding. And "The Old Lady" might be France herself, defeated sometimes, but never conquered.

CLAIRE HUCHET BISHOP.

The Land and Wildlife. Edward H. Graham. Oxford. $4.00.

A FASCINATING account of various means of improving farm land and at the same time of building up attractive habitats for fish, fur-bearing small animals and wild fowl. It is illustrated with handsome halftones. Mr. Graham explains what ponds, ditches to catch water, borders of brush and certain hardy plants can do to increase wildlife about a farm, prevent erosion of the soil and generally expand the whole acreage's productiveness. His program is substantially documented with actual examples and yet presented in a manner readable enough to intrigue the armchair cultivator. E. S.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Inner Forum

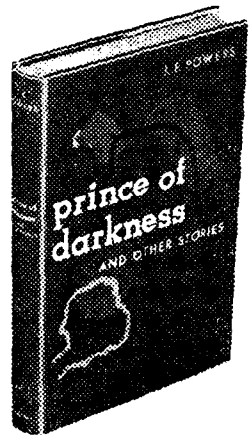
New Light on Labor

"LIKE A STAR in the darkness of night, Benedict of Nursia brilliantly shines, a glory not only to Italy but to the whole Church." With this striking opening sentence, Pope Pius XII begins his first post-war message to the Universal Church; and while at first glance it appears chiefly concerned with marking the fourteenth centenary of the Benedictine Order and its achievements, it bears much wider significance. After sketching briefly the holy Patriarch's career, particularly the events which led to the founding of Monte Cassino in the sixth century, the Pontiff proceeds to a searching analysis of the Rule of Saint Benedict, which he characterizes as an "outstanding monument of Roman and Christian prudence . . . outstanding in wisdom and elegant in language . . . useful not only to his many followers but also to the Christian clergy and faithful."

Pope Pius then takes up in detail those salient features of the Rule which appear to him of especial contemporary value and significance: "our own age has many important lessons to learn from the Patriarch. . . . All classes of society, if they studiously and seriously examine the life, teachings, and glorious achievements of Saint Benedict, cannot but fall under his gentle and powerful inspiration." When summed up, these lessons are found to consist principally, according to the Encyclical, in three specifically monastic contributions to the Christian way of life, *viz*: the family character of the monastic community, the primacy of prayer and worship in the latter, and the careful integration of the members' other activities with their prayer-life. These other activities, in turn, embrace practically every kind of Christian endeavor: manual labor, the pursuit of learning, cultivation of the arts and crafts, teaching, apostolic works; and in about that order of relative importance, as enumerated by the Pontiff.

Regarding the first of these contributions, Pius observes that "the monastic community is so constituted and arranged that it resembles the Christian home, over which the Abbot presides like the father of a family . . . in which all things are common to all, not under force or violence, but willingly and unselfishly"; and where difficulties arising from divergent racial or social origins among the members "are mastered with breath of vision and fraternal charity." Regarding the second, he tells us how in the monastery "all are bound by the stability of religious life to devote themselves to prayer on heavenly things and holy reading," and in such a way that "the utmost care and greatest diligence" is spent upon the latter, with the *Opus Dei* or liturgical worship (Holy Mass and the Divine Office) in the first place, according to immemorial Benedictine tradition.

But all of this, the Pontiff continues, is to be integrated with "labor in the fields . . . the arts and crafts . . . other apostolic works." Judging by the amount of space he then devotes to this third outstanding lesson to be deduced from the Rule, it contains the cardinal message he would impart to the world. Note for instance how he traces the salutary effects of monasticism upon Christian society throughout the ages: it "extended to the ends of earth the peaceful kingdom of Jesus Christ, not with sword or violence or slaughter, but with the cross and the



"A Challenge to Catholic Readers . . .

This book marks a milestone in American Catholic letters. In it for the first time in this country we have an indication that we can produce a Catholic fiction comparable to the great European Catholic fiction. *Prince of Darkness* will be received enthusiastically, of course, by the few fastidious readers who have rejoiced in the Europeans like Bernanos, Mauriac, Undset, Greene, Waugh, and O'Brien."

—SISTER MARIELLA GABLE, O.S.B.
Today.

PRINCE OF DARKNESS
and Other Stories
by J. F. Powers

At your bookseller's, $2.75 • DOUBLEDAY

For June Graduates

The Commonweal serves as a highly suitable graduation present. It will keep the recipient critically aware of the world of the arts and public affairs. Six months' gift $3, one year $6.

Circulation Department
THE COMMONWEAL
386 Fourth Avenue New York 16, N. Y.

IMMACULATA JUNIOR COLLEGE
Washington, D. C.

An accredited Catholic Institution for Women. Sisters of Providence of St. Mary-of-the-Woods. Resident and Day Students. 2 year transfer course in Liberal Arts. Terminal courses in Home Crafts, Secretarial Sciences, General, Fine Arts.

SEMINARY—Four Year College Preparatory
Dunblane Hall—Grades 1 to 8. Address: The Secretary.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This Summer's Reading

Start with John L. Lewis and go through the list to the shameful national housing shortage or the world's urgent need for atomic weapon control. Hardly subjects for light summer reading! But the stakes are high. Even in the most stifling dog days it will pay you to keep in touch.

Yet summer issues of The Commonweal will have a seasonal flavor no matter what is brewing at Washington, Moscow, Rome or Lake Success. The relaxing of pressure on the book review section will make it possible to include more short stories, biographical sketches, leisurely and informative literary articles. There will also be more space for extended personal comment in the communications column. Summer issues of the magazine should therefore be even more readable than usual.

Either way you look at it here is the ideal occasion for getting well acquainted with The Commonweal. Why delay? Utilize the attached coupon to procure a wealth of good summer reading about things that matter — for about a penny a day.

NEXT WEEK

The Taft-Hartley Labor Bill—John Broderick

Peace in Jail—George H. Dunne

Europe's Troubled Mind—H. A. Reinhold

-----12 Issues for $1-----

Summer Offer for New Subscribers

THE COMMONWEAL,
386 Fourth Ave.
New York 16, N. Y.

For the enclosed $1 send me the next 12 issues of
THE COMMONWEAL

Name .....

Street .....

City .....
6/13/47

plough, with truth and charity . . . [by] unarmed bands of workmen, of farmers, and teachers of science human and divine. . . . During a dark and turbulent age, when agriculture, honorable crafts, the study of the fine arts were little esteemed . . . there arose in Benedictine monasteries an almost countless multitude of farmers, craftsmen, learned people, who led back the nations from destruction and ruin to . . . patient labor, the light of truth, to a civilization renewed in wisdom and charity."

Then, after drawing a general conclusion from all this that, if the present threatened collapse of our civilization is to be averted, "the Supreme Deity must be reverenced in public and private life . . . loved as a Father, with great charity . . . from which arises fraternal charity toward our neighbor," the Pope specifically points to the historic attitude of monasticism toward labor (he consistently puts *manual* labor in the first place) as embodying the core of present-day monasticism's potential contribution to Christian society. For Benedict taught above all the lesson "freely proclaimed today, but far too often not reduced to practice, that human labor is not without dignity, is not a distasteful and burdensome thing, but rather something to be esteemed, an honor and a joy." And the key to his success in this direction—in upholding both the dignity of physical toil as such, no matter how common, and the dignity of the individual person in the ranks of labor, is undoubtedly to be found in the force of his own example and that of his followers, by which manual work was elevated to an almost sacramental level. Their toiling was, down to its smallest detail, a consecrated thing, united closely and intimately with Christ's daily Sacrifice of Praise, shot through with love for God and fellow-man. They performed it for no motives of economic gain or temporary prestige, but as a fitting symbol of human dependence upon the one Master of us all. Divine worship, the choir-office interspersed throughout the day, holy reading, private prayer and meditation were thus to them, psychologically, almost indistinguishable from their humbler tasks of tilling the soil, studying, teaching; so that a single monastic workday was one united act of praise.

Does this "sacramentalizing" of labor, physical labor particularly, have anything practical to offer in respect to contemporary labor problems? Surely it must have, or Christ's earthly Vicar would not have gone to such extraordinary lengths in presenting it to the world. And by the same token it constitutes a ringing challenge to even greater heights of achievement, of fidelity to its glorious heritage of the past, for contemporary monasticism. Once more Saint Benedict's disciples all over the world are being summoned to inspire and strengthen Christian society with their example of consecrated toil, physical as well as intellectual; of toil which is subservient to, but perfectly balanced with their life of prayer and praise.

W. MICHAEL DUCEY.

CONTRIBUTORS

Emmet John HUGHES is head of the *Time-Life* Rome Bureau and is the author of "The Church and the Liberal Society."
Alice RENARD is a young Catholic journalist who is employed by a Negro newspaper in the Midwest.
Theodore M. AVERY, Jr., is an anthropologist who is now working as a librarian in Brooklyn.
Nancy LENKEITH is a graduate student at Columbia University.
Claire Huchet BISHOP recently received an award for her successful juvenile, "Pancakes-Paris."
Rev. W. Michael DUCEY, O. S. B., is the executive secretary of the National Liturgical Conference.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Educational Directory

COLLEGES—WOMEN—INDIANA

SAINT MARY'S COLLEGE NOTRE DAME

Holy Cross, Indiana. Conducted by Sisters of the Holy Cross. Fully accredited Liberal Arts College for Women. Courses leading to degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Music, Bachelor of Science. Academic and professional courses in Nursing. Graduate Department of Sacred Theology. Address: Box 71, Saint Mary's College, Holy Cross, Ind. Railroad station, South Bend, Ind.

ILLINOIS

ROSARY COLLEGE

River Forest, Illinois. Conducted by the Dominican Sisters of Sinsinawa, Wisconsin. Approved by the Association of American Universities. Liberal Arts, Home Economics, Library Science. Library School accredited by American Library Association.

MINNESOTA

COLLEGE OF SAINT TERESA

Winona, Minnesota. For the Higher Education of Catholic Women. Holds membership in the North Central Association of Colleges. Accredited by the Association of American Universities. Registered for Teacher's License by New York Board of Regents. Degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, Bachelor of Science in Nursing. A standardized Conservatory of Music is maintained in connection with the college. Picturesquely located on the upper Mississippi. One hundred acre campus. Served by the "Zephyr," "Hiawatha," "The 400."

CONNECTICUT

ALBERTUS MAGNUS COLLEGE

New Haven, Conn. Founded and directed by the Dominican Sisters. Resident and non-resident students. Liberal Arts, Pre-Medicine, Pre-Law and Teacher Training. Courses lead to the Degree of Bachelor of Arts. Proximity to Yale University offers educational and cultural advantages. Fully accredited, including accreditment by the American Medical Association. Ninety minutes from Grand Central Station, N. Y. Address the Registrar.

MARYLAND

COLLEGE OF NOTRE DAME OF MARYLAND

North Charles St., Baltimore, Maryland. An Accredited Catholic Institution for the Higher Education of Women. Conducted by the School Sisters of Notre Dame. Exceptional Advantages. For information address the Registrar.

PENNSYLVANIA

ROSEMONT COLLEGE

Rosemont, Pa. A Catholic College for Women conducted by the Religious of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. Accredited by the Association of American Universities. Situated on the Main Line of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Eleven miles from Philadelphia. Address the Registrar for information. Telephone Bryn Mawr 4514.

SCHOOL OF NURSING

COLLEGE OF MT. ST. VINCENT SCHOOL OF NURSING

Conducted in cooperation with St. Vincent's Hospital, New York City. Offers courses leading to Diploma of Nursing and Bachelor of Science Degree with a major in Nursing. Write for Bulletin L to Director of Nursing, College of Mt. St. Vincent, Mt. St. Vincent-on-Hudson, New York 63, N. Y.

PREP SCHOOL—BOYS—NEW JERSEY

DELBARTON SCHOOL

A country day and boarding school conducted by Benedictine Monks for boys in the sixth to the tenth grades. Massive granite building. 400 acres. Intramural sports. Small classes. Personal supervision. Address: Headmaster, Delbarton School, Morristown, New Jersey. Morristown 4-3231.

PREP SCHOOLS—BOYS—OHIO

GILMOUR ACADEMY

Gates Mills (Cleveland), Ohio. A Resident Preparatory School for Boys. Conducted by The Brothers of Holy Cross, Notre Dame, Ind. Situated in the picturesque Chagrin Valley in suburban Cleveland, enjoying the facilities afforded by the city's libraries, galleries and museums. Distinctive rural-home atmosphere. 133 acre campus. Educational, cultural, and physical training programs. Fully accredited four year college preparatory course will be offered. Classes limited to 15 students. Brother Theophane Schmitt, C.S.C., Headmaster.

RHODE ISLAND

PORTSMOUTH PRIORY

Portsmouth, Rhode Island. SUMMER SCHOOL, June 26 to Aug. 21: Regular and review classes in academic high school subjects: English, Languages, History, Mathematics, and Sciences. Opportunity for introductory course in Philosophy. SUMMER CAMP, June 26 to Aug. 21: For boys ages ten to seventeen. Land and water sports including sailing. 225 acres on inland waters of Narragansett Bay. Conducted by Benedictine Monks assisted by lay masters. For illustrated brochure apply to The Secretary.

BUYERS DIRECTORY

★ Rate for your message, 60c a line. Three lines minimum space. Discounts: 5% for 13 times, 15% for 52 times.

BOOKS

★ Books: Used, Old, Rare.
For Librarians, Collectors, Readers.
Huge Stock. Reasonably Priced.
Catalogs Free. Browsers Invited.
Want Lists Solicited. Libraries Purchased.
DAUBER & PINE BOOKSHOPS, INC.
66 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

HOTEL

★ COPLEY PLAZA HOTEL
Maurice T. Lawler, *General Manager*
Boston 16, Mass.
2 minutes from Back Bay R. R. Station

LANGUAGES

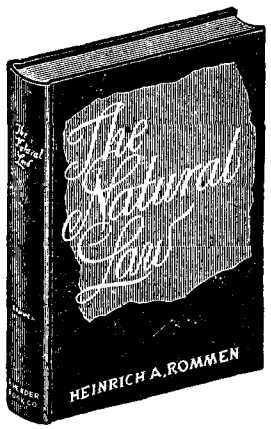
★ Dictionaries and Grammars for 115 Languages. *Catalog free.* SCHOENHOF'S Dept. CW, Harvard Square, Cambridge 38, Mass.

BOOK MARKS AND HOLY CARDS

★ Sayings of Saints, Doctors of the Church and Modern Catholic Authors on attractive bookmarks and holy cards. 25 different samples 35c. BERLINER & LANIGAN, Nevada City, California.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NATURAL LAW



A STUDY IN LEGAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

BY

HEINRICH A. ROMMEN

TRANSLATED BY

THOMAS R. HANLEY, O.S.B., Ph.D.

$4.00

Just human laws, whether city ordinances or legislative statutes or constitutional provisions or international treaties, have their ultimate root in the very nature of things. This basis is ascertained by human reason. We call it natural law. All other laws for men's behavior to one another must accord with this natural law, must not violate its principles. Hence for appraising the justice or injustice of human laws, a knowledge of the natural law and its principles is needed.

This book provides an admirable background for this study in the first part, which deals with the history of the idea of natural law. The author then proceeds to discuss the philosophy and content of the natural law.

The following titles of a few chapters (X-XIV) indicate the scope of the treatment: The Structure of the Sciences; The Nature of Law: Morality and Law; The Content of the Natural Law; Natural Law and Positive Law.

Also by Dr. Rommen

THE STATE IN CATHOLIC THOUGHT

A Treatise in Political Philosophy

$6.00

B. HERDER BOOK CO.

15 & 17 SOUTH BROADWAY, ST. LOUIS 2, MO.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED